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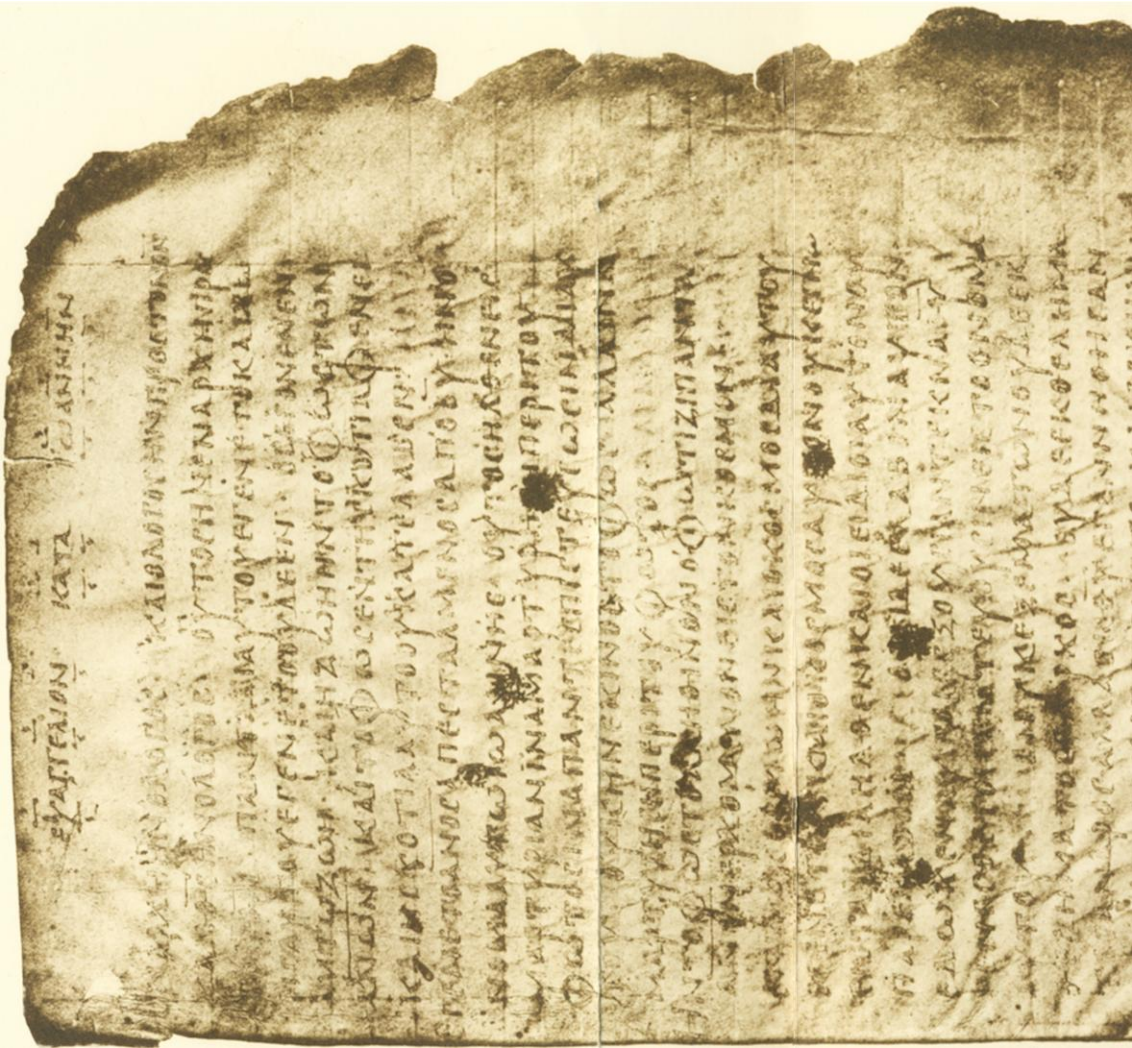
AGE AND ANCIENT HOME OF THE BIBLICAL
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION

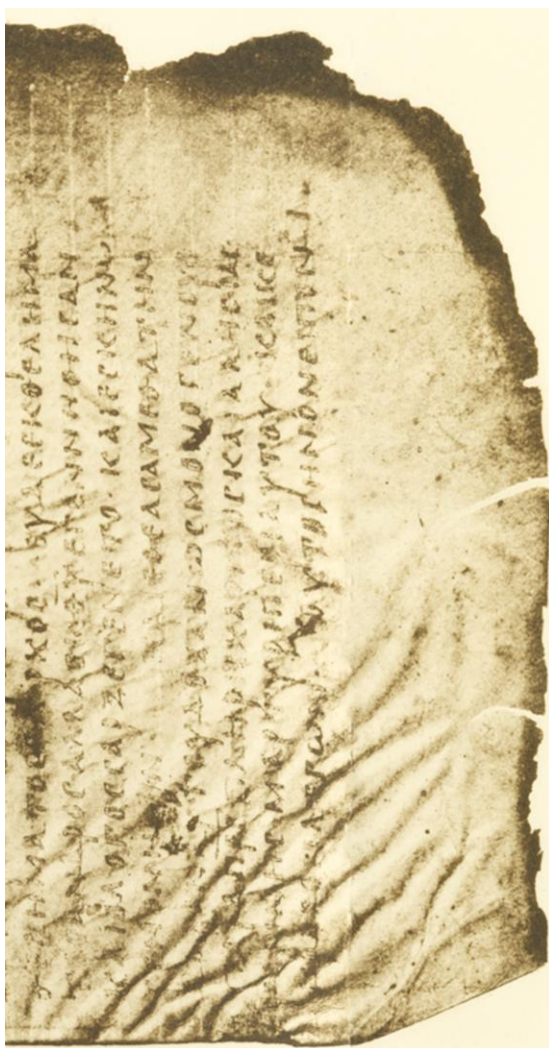
[PLATES I-III]

THE brevity and haste of my first report on these Mss. have brought some misunderstandings, a few of which I shall try to remove.

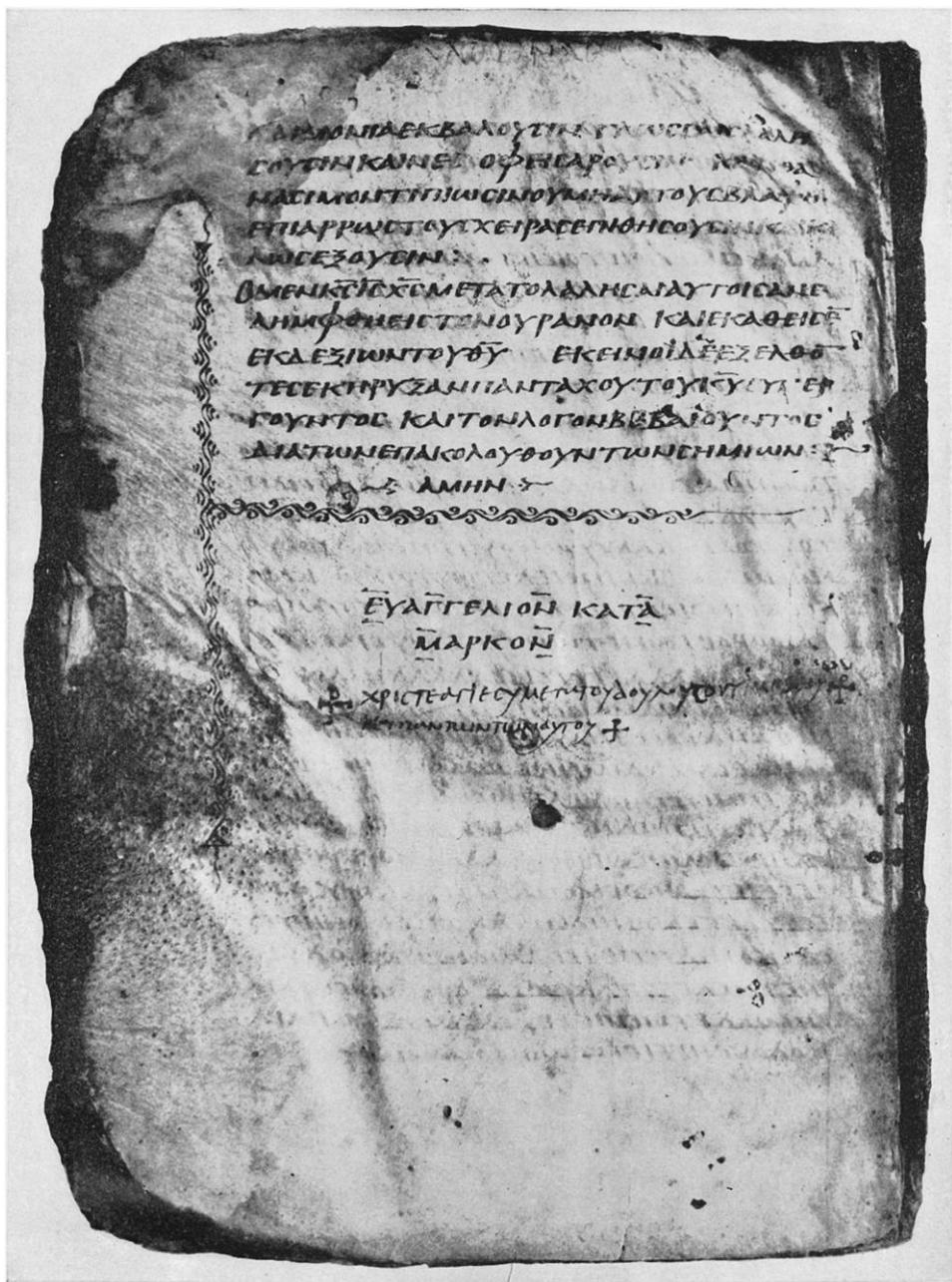
The Deuteronomy Ms. has one late marginal note on p. 35: $\text{† εἰς τὴν μνημὴν τῶ ἀγίῳ πατρὶ εἰς τὸ λυχνηκῶ}$ (to the memory of the holy fathers for the evening time). This is a designation of a regular reading with $\alpha\rho\chi$ and $\tau\epsilon$ showing the beginning and end of the passage (Deut. x. 14-22). Professor Grenfell and Dr. Kenyon agree in dating this cursive note at the end of the sixth or early in the seventh century. Its black ink contrasts strongly with the brown of the text. It seems probable that the note was inserted by a visiting churchman, who marked beforehand the appropriate passage for the day to avoid delay at the time of the services.

An interesting parallel to the hand of the whole Deuteronomy Ms. was found in an unpublished fragment of the Aegyptisches Museum in Berlin (PLATE I). It is numbered P. 6794 and is a double leaf of a parchment book containing Homer, *Il.* 22, 390 ff. The fragment was bought of an Egyptian dealer and has been dated in the fourth or fifth century. The writing is slightly larger than that of the Deuteronomy Ms. (facsimile *A.J.A.* XII, Pl. II). Its cross strokes are slightly heavier, and the M and Ω are sometimes a little broader. The ornamental dots of Θ , C, T, Γ , etc., are a little larger. Y and P have longer tails, K a sharper angle, and Φ is slightly enlarged. The accents and a few breathings are perhaps second hand. It seemed that only every other line was ruled, but as the Ms. was under glass, I could not be certain.





GOSPELS MANUSCRIPT. JOHN I. Vss. 1-15



GOSPELS MANUSCRIPT. MARK XVI, Vss. 17-20.

To this hand in turn a near parallel is found in the Codex Ephraemi (facsimile in Omont, *Mss. grecs de la Bib. Nat.* Pl. III), though it must be considered a rather more advanced stage of the writing. Among other slight differences, we may note the size of the Φ , increase in ornamental dots to T, Γ , ϵ , longer tail to P, etc.

Professor Goodspeed (*Bibl. World*, XXXI, 3, 218) has compared with the Deuteronomy Ms. Add. Ms. 17210 of the British Museum (facsimile in *Cat. Anc. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, Greek, Pl. 9), a Homer palimpsest from the Nitrian Desert, not only finding the writing identical, but also that the two agree in ruling only every other line, except at the top of the page. This peculiarity occurs in parts of the Alexandrinus and of a Coptic Ms. in the Freer Collection, as well as in the Frag. Fabianum and some other old Latin Mss. As regards the similarity of writing it is clear that the Homer palimpsest stands closer to Codex Ephraemi and P. 6794 than to the Deuteronomy Ms. It has the same peculiarities in a somewhat higher degree. Also B has the top loop smaller and the bottom flattened, and Δ has the right hand line extended at the top, a heavy dot on the prolongation of the bottom line to the left, but no extension of that line to the right. On the other hand, it shows two forms of the T as in the Deuteronomy Ms. Most of the variations incline toward the hand found in the fragment of Paul's Epistles of the Freer Collection (facsimile *A.J.A.* XII, p. 54, fig. 2). Noteworthy is the tendency to join the top of the T and the bottoms of P and Φ into other letters in both these Mss.

The great similarity of all the above Mss., combined with the distinct development in type of hand from the Deuteronomy Ms. through P. 6794, Codex Ephraemi, and Add. Ms. 17210 to the fragment of Paul's Epistles, makes the conclusion almost unavoidable, that they are products of the same school and century. This conclusion is opposed to the view held by some French and German scholars, that the Codex Ephraemi belongs early in the fifth century and is older than the Alexandrinus. I prefer to place it, as well as its two younger relatives, late in the fifth century, at any rate after the Alexandrinus, the Deuteronomy of the Freer Collection, and the slightly younger

Homer fragment, P. 6794; and I further feel confident that all these represent stages in the development of the same school of writing and are probably from the same region, Lower Egypt.

Add. Ms. 17211 of the Brit. Mus. (facsimile in *Fac. of Bib. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, Pl. III) has also been compared to the Deuteronomy Ms. by Professor Goodspeed. In forms of letters it really stands closer than Add. Ms. 17210, but the hand is larger, irregular, and imitative. It belongs to a period a generation or two later.

In the Gospels Ms. the most interesting discovery is a single quire at the beginning of John, which is in a quite different hand. All of the rest of the Ms. is of the style previously described (cf. PLATE III), and was written by one writer, probably in the fifth century. The writing in the first quire of John looks younger, while the parchment appears much older and more worn (cf. PLATE II).

There are four possible ways of explaining the presence of this strange quire: (1) it was written later to fill out a lost or damaged part; (2) it was taken from an old Ms. for the same purpose; (3) a quire from the parent Ms. was retained and bound in again, because of its good state of preservation; (4) it was written by another copyist at the same time. We may safely dismiss the fourth explanation on the basis of difference in parchment, ruling, etc., and the second because of the likeness and continuity of text with the following quires. For a comparison of our Ms. for eighteen verses in each of the Gospels shows, in opposition to the composite text of Matthew containing a considerable Syrian element, that both parts of John as well as Luke have almost no Syrian and few Western readings, while individual variants are fairly common.

The text of Mark is likewise composite, showing many readings usually designated as Syrian, but even more Western and Pre-syrian in general, as well as many individual variants. On this evidence we must accept the belief that the strange quire in John is a portion of the same Ms. tradition as the rest of that Gospel.

The dirty, greasy, worn condition of the first page of John, quire I, shows that it was once the outside leaf. This may have been at some time when the volume was out of its bind-

ing, yet no other part of the Ms. has suffered in proportion. The aged appearance alone is not enough to prove that this quire was from the parent Ms. nor does the slight stretching of the text on its last page prove that it was later copied to fill a gap. In ancient Mss. we find not infrequent instances of stretching or crowding at the quire ends so as to agree with the copy. In this Ms. we find more instances of crowding at quire ends. As we dare not base our decision entirely on this unknown but apparently late style of writing, it is necessary to look for other hints.

Compared with the Matthew portion of the Ms. this quire shows these regular differences:

(1) Much more frequent punctuation, usually a single dot in middle position, but sometimes a colon; punctuation by blank spaces is more common in Matthew;

(2) Less frequent paragraphs, but these project more than one or sometimes than two letters; capitals are larger and rather more frequent;

(3) Frequent curved marks (not breathings) over vowels beginning words or even over two successive vowels; twenty-six cases of correctly placed rough breathings occur in Matthew;

(4) Initial *v* has two dots over it instead of one; *ξ* is much better made, with one, two, or three strokes, but always having a good curve in the middle; one example of a finely made Egyptian *μ* occurs as a numeral;

(5) Paragraph marks are sometimes the *κορωνίς*, instead of the dash;

(6) Numerals are always given by the letters except once, though the letters had been used but once in Matthew, viz. in the first chapter;

(7) Abbreviations not found in Matthew are *υς*, *ουρος*, *βλεια*, while *ιηλ* is used for *ιερλ*, which occurs in Matthew; on the other hand, *και*, *-θαι*, and *-ται* are not abbreviated though sixteen cases of such abbreviation occur in Matthew;

(9) Bad spelling and especially itacisms are much more common than in Matthew.

It seems certain that this so different Ms., if it were the parent Ms., must have exerted some influence on even the most careful copyist. I have accordingly searched the remaining

portion of the Gospels Ms. for hints of that influence with the following results:

- (1) There is no variation in punctuation from Matthew;
- (2) Paragraphs are less frequent, especially in the remainder of John and in Mark, but projections and capitals are as in Matthew;
- (3) A rough breathing occurs only once in the remainder of John, forty-seven times in Luke, and three times in Mark; there are no cases of incorrect use;
- (4) The writer breaks his custom and puts two dots over ν once at the end of ten pages; he regularly tries to improve the shape of ξ after a model similar to that of John, quire 1; the one case of Egyptian μ is from a third hand and late;
- (4) The $\kappa\rho\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ paragraph mark occurs once early in Luke and in the same form as in John, quire 1;
- (6) Letters appear as numerals once in the remainder of John, 6 times in Luke, and 19 times in Mark;
- (7) $\overline{\upsilon}\epsilon$ occurs once in John and 6 times in Mark; $\overline{\iota}\eta\lambda$ occurs once early in the remainder of John; $\kappa\alpha\iota$, $-\theta\alpha\iota$, and $-\tau\alpha\iota$ are abbreviated only once in the rest of John, but 16 times in Luke, and 13 in Mark;
- (8) In Matthew the custom of ruling across the two pages from outer bounding line of text to outer bounding line seems to have been broken but once by ruling to the edge of the parchment, and then for but five lines at the top of a page. In John, quire 1, the ruling seems to have been consistently across the entire parchment. Correspondingly we find that this manner of ruling occurs 7 times in the remainder of John (probably four double sheets), 8 times in Luke, and 6 times distinguishable in Mark;
- (9) The characteristic misspellings of John, quire 1, are ι for $\epsilon\iota$ and ϵ for $\alpha\iota$, while the opposite mistakes are far fewer. In Matthew all four misspellings occur somewhat frequently; ι for $\epsilon\iota$ and $\alpha\iota$ for ϵ are the more common, though much less frequent than in John, quire 1. On the other hand, in the remainder of John, Luke, and Mark $\epsilon\iota$ occurs for ι much more often. This looks as if the copyist, discovering the besetting sin of his parent Ms., had changed every possible case to the opposite spelling. In accord with this we note that ϵ for $\alpha\iota$

almost vanishes, while *au* for *ε* increases decidedly in the remainder of John. In Luke and Mark the spelling of this sound improves.

To sum up, on points 1 and 2 there was no noteworthy variation. Peculiarities 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 all creep in sporadically later. The extremes involved in 9 were objectionable to the writer, who reached the opposites in his attempt to avoid them entirely. No. 3 is impossible to classify, yet it is noteworthy that the rough breathing is practically non-existent for John.

These items hardly furnish valid proof that the latter part of John with Luke and Mark were copied from the Ms. of which the first quire of John is the surviving remnant, but the concurrence of such indications, combined with the similarity of text and the extremely ancient appearance of the parchment for these 16 pages, furnishes a presumption for this interpretation.

It must of course be admitted that some of the above-mentioned peculiarities can be explained on the basis of the unquestionable difference in archetype of Matthew and John, if we suppose that a later copyist of John, quire 1, exaggerated or modified those points in which the Ms. of John chanced to differ from that of Matthew.

Yet this explanation can hardly account for all the above variations. Moreover, we have yet to consider the most striking peculiarity. The titles of the Gospels, Matthew, Luke, and Mark, show marked differences from the hand of the text and subscriptions. Perhaps most striking is the fact that the word *ευαγγελιον* measures just one inch in length each time in the title, though it measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in both text and subscriptions. Likewise a comparison of the forms of the letters shows that the titles, as well as some 40 instances of second hand in the text and margins, have the following differences from the first hand: *κ* more, but *τ* and *γ* less regularly have dotted points on the ends of the top line; *ν* and *ρ* seem to have shorter tails; *ο* is smaller; *ω* is the same, except for a tendency to curve in at the top; *ε* does not often have the middle line so prolonged as in the text; *μ* seems narrower and the outer lines are almost perfectly parallel, the last one being generally shorter.

These differences, though decided, are yet so unimportant, that I believe the second hand was contemporary, hence the *διορθωτής*.

The fact that the title of John is also by a second hand suggests that the same person added all four titles; yet this cannot be proved, since the writer who added the title of John tried, though with ill-success, to imitate the hand of the text (cf. PLATE II). Note the following: *α* is different every time, and never exactly like any *α* of the text; *ε* omits the heavy dot on the middle line; *γ* has too light a dot on end of the top stroke; *λ* is too narrow and the second stroke extends above the first; *κ* has a light dot on the upper side, not a heavy one on the under side of the top slanting stroke; *τ* has only one light dot; *ω* has the middle lines rising nearly to the top of the letter and the outer lines curve in only slightly at the top; *ν* seems made with three strokes, the slanting stroke touching the first upright a little below the top, though these two strokes seem to be made in one, forming a perfect angle, by the regular hand of the text. Most striking of all is the lack of a consistent slant. The first *ε*, *ν*, and *ο* have too much and show the natural tendency of the hand. The second *γ*, first *ν*, and *τ* have no slant. Those mistakes which betray the natural character of the hand seem to point toward the second hand of the Ms. as a whole, at any rate toward a sloping hand of the general type of the whole Ms. except these sixteen pages. This seems to prove the first quire of John older than the rest of the Ms., unless we can succeed in showing that the second hand was considerably later. Yet such a conclusion presents very decided difficulties, for it forces us to date the early part of John in the fourth century, a date which passes well with the bad spelling (cf. Westcott and Hort, II, 307), but is decidedly questionable on account of the style of writing.

The natural distrust of a strange hand will lead others, as it has me, to seek a later date for this portion, even though we must confess that nothing exactly like it has thus far been published. It seems to have some general resemblance to the Slavonic sloping uncial hand of the seventh and eighth centuries. Note especially heavy dots or ornamental strokes on *τ*, *γ*, *ν*, *κ*, and the enlarged *φ*. Against this the forms of *ω*, *ξ*, *ρ*, *ψ*, and

especially μ , with middle strokes not reaching to the bottom line, look rather strange. Yet it does not seem an early, but rather a well-developed stage of some such hand. Therefore, if we connect it with the late Slavonic sloping uncial, we must presumably date it not earlier than the eighth century, a very questionable date, since the Ms. shows such plain signs of long use. If we attempt to connect it with the earlier type of sloping hand, which arose on papyrus in the third and fourth centuries, we are met by the difficulty that the remainder of the Ms. is itself a late development of that hand, probably of the fifth century, and it is extremely questionable to suppose that style of writing to have lived on much longer. Furthermore, this hand is clearly a development independent of the hand found in the rest of the Ms., for while the slant is less, the pen was cut with a broader point, and the writing makes more the impression of a papyrus style. Also dots and shadings are more pronounced. Furthermore, individual characteristics, such as capitals, awkwardly projecting paragraphs, and punctuation point toward a later time, though such characteristics are found infrequently even on papyrus fragments of the second century A.D. or earlier.

On the whole I prefer, though with a good deal of hesitation, to call these sixteen pages a part of the parent Ms. and date them in the fourth century.

The other alternative is to call this an early replacing of a torn but still legible quire. Those who take this view will doubtless be inclined thereby to refer the rest of the Ms. to the fourth century, a date which I am not yet ready to accept.

This parent Ms. did not contain Matthew and was perhaps otherwise defective. On the other hand, the Ms. from which Matthew was copied possibly contained the four Gospels, so it will be necessary to watch for its influence in other places. The differences in character of text of the different Gospels point plainly back to a time when the text transmission of each was independent.

Another question, which has been much considered, concerns the place of origin of the Mss. To trace out and interpret all of the stories of Arab dealers is such a hopeless task that in despair I turned to the Mss. themselves.

Of the original subscription to the Gospels, which was written in lighter ink than the Mss. and in a fifth century hand, there remains ϣ χριστὲ ἅγιε σὺ μετὰ τοῦ δούλο[υ] (cf. PLATE III). Though the first hand has disappeared at the end of the line, the name of some early owner, not necessarily a private person, appeared there. Then the subscription was changed as to name and enlarged by adding a second line ϣ καὶ πάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ ϣ. This was written in the same shade of light brown ink, but in a smaller, somewhat more cursive hand; the retention of approximately the same color of ink would suggest that any change of ownership accompanying this erasure and addition took place within the original church or monastery. Slightly later the name was again erased and also the letter under σ of σου and that part of the Ms., covering υ also of δούλου, was probably washed. Then a hand very similar to No. 2 rewrote υ σοῦ Τιμοθέου ϣ in black ink of the tint used in the cursive note on p. 35 of the Deuteronomy Ms., discussed above, and in certain curved reading marks of the same Ms. This third hand cannot be dated much later than the second, hence the early sixth century. Both the original name and the form of it going with the second version have absolutely perished. Yet from the length of the erasure, extending under ϣ, we may infer that at least one was longer than the present name. Also a letter reaching well below the line occurred near the beginning of the name, in one of the earlier versions. σοῦ cannot have stood in either first or second hand, but perhaps [τ]οῦ in the second hand, and, if so, τῆς in the first, the latter with the name of a monastery, the former of a prior or bishop.

The final or third form of the subscription is translated: "O holy Christ, be thou with thy servant Timothy and all of his." In spite of the interpretations of Professors Goodspeed and Gregory (*Das Freer Logion*, p. 22), I can see no reference to a private owner here, but rather to a church and its congregation. "Timothy" is St. Timothy and "all his" are the worshippers in his church or the inmates of his monastery.

In Abu Salih's *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (trans. by Evetts and Butler, p. 190) we read: "Near this place there is a monastery known as the Monastery of the Vine-dresser (Dair al-Karrām), but called by the heretics the Mon-

astery of the Dogs (Dair al-Kilâb). The Monastery is near the Pyramids on the western side and its church is called the Church of Timothy, the monk, a native of Memphis, whose body is buried in it." This Timothy was a soldier in the Roman army and suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian, 304 A.D. Though Abu Salih, who wrote soon after 1208 A.D., names 707 churches and 181 monasteries, he mentions no other dedicated to Timothy.

Al Makrizi († 1441), while naming 125 churches and 86 monasteries, presumably a complete list for his time, does not mention the monastery of the Vinedresser; it had probably perished before his time.

The Ms. of Abu Salih is defective at the beginning, so that none of the monasteries of the Nitrian Desert are described. This is the more to be regretted as Butler (*Anc. Cop. Churches of Egypt*, I, p. 287) quotes Vansleb (*Voyage fait en Egypte* [1664 and 1672-3], p. 227), that "there were formerly seven monasteries there; viz. Macarius, John the Little, Anba Bishôî, Timothy, Anba Musa, Anba Kaima, and Sûriâni, of which only Bishôî and Sûriâni survive," an obvious error, for besides Macarius, there is left one other, Al Baramus. Al Makrizi (App. to Abu Salih, pp. 320 ff.) names eleven, as known to him, viz. all of the above except Timothy, and besides, Elias, the Virgin of St. John the Dwarf, St. Anub, and the Armenians. The Monastery of Timothy may be another name for the Monastery of the Armenians, or the name may be an error of Vansleb or his informers. I incline to the second alternative, for Al Makrizi also singles out just seven monasteries as existing in his time, viz. the four now remaining and St. John the Dwarf, the Virgin of St. John the Dwarf, and Abu Musa the Black. The second of these was inhabited by the Abyssinians after their two monasteries of John Kama and of Elias were destroyed by worms. So Anba Kaima of Vansleb's list means the Abyssinian monastery, and the two lists agree, except that the Monastery of Timothy is substituted for Al Baramus. This looks like an error of memory or pure invention to complete the desired number seven.¹

¹ The error is partly in Butler's quotation. Professor Goodspeed kindly looked up the original for me and writes as follows: "The fourth monastery in

If we omit this rather doubtful case, the church of Timothy in the Monastery of the Vinedresser was the only one of the name in Egypt. This was a Jacobite, *i.e.*, a Coptic, monastery, and was once burned by the Melkites (Abu Salih, p. 186), probably in the fifth century or the early sixth, for the Melkites were too weak later. This monastery seems to have finally perished in the persecutions of the fourteenth century, but of the fate of its most ancient Bible we hear no word. Yet it seems hardly likely that it was abandoned, especially if any of the monks escaped. They may well have taken it to some more secure monastery.

In this connection the statement of Professor Schmidt (*Theolog. Literaturz.* 1908, p. 359) is of interest, for he says that all four of the Biblical Mss. of the Freer Collection came from the White Monastery, near Sohag, opposite Akhmim.¹ From the same source came three Mss., which he himself bought in Akhmim in 1905: (1) The first epistle of Clemens in Coptic (Akhmimic dialect), of the fourth or fifth century; (2) Proverbs in the same dialect and of about the same date; (3) An Easter letter in Greek, of the early eighth century. These three were bought at the same time and were later proved to have come from the White Monastery. The following year a fragmentary Ms. of Genesis in cursive Greek of the late third or fourth century was obtained of the same dealer. It is supposed to have come from the same source, though proofs fail. These Mss. are all on papyrus and show absolutely no relationship to the Freer Mss. either in content or style of writing.

It seems clear that the White Monastery had a library hidden in the upper part of the massive church (first seen by Amélineau in January, 1885), which had escaped fire and thieves, except those of the monastery itself, during its long history.

Vansleb's list is '*celui de Saint Massime et Timothée.*' Al Baramous was known to Vansleb, therefore, under the name *Maximus and Timotheus*, which doubtless means *Maximus et Domitius*, as the dedication of that convent is more precisely described by recent writers. Vansleb's error was due to the similarity of sound."

¹ Cf. Goodspeed, *Bibl. World*, 1909, p. 201, who ably supports this view, but seems misinformed as to some essential facts.

Yet the rest of the monastery was plundered and burned several times.¹

At the last plundering (1812), 100 Mss. are said to have perished. Under these circumstances it seems that Mss. could have survived only in this hidden library. Yet the decayed condition of all the Freer Mss. except the Gospels, which were protected by thick board covers, is hardly compatible with preservation in so secure a place.

I further learned from Professor Schmidt, that the Freer Mss. were first heard of in the hands of a dealer of Eshmunên, who showed them at the Mission School in Assiut, and then sold them to Ali Arabi. On inquiry, however, I learned from Dr. Grant of the School, and from the Rev. Dr. Kyle of the United Presbyterians' Missions, that the Mss. were never shown at the school. Professor Schmidt has probably been deceived by one of the numerous Arab stories; all are of equal value with the first one told, viz. that the Mss. came from Akhmim. To accept the White Monastery as the last home of the Mss. would imply that this first story was near the truth. Yet any one acquainted with Arab stories would advise us to look in every other direction first, as toward the Nitrian Desert, or the Fayoum, or the region toward Sinai, if we wish to find the last resting place of this ancient Bible.

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¹ Cf. Denon, *Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte* (1798), London, 1807, I, 157 f.; Curzon, *Ancient Monasteries* (1833), p. 113.